

Message Text

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PAGE 01 SECTO 07010 01 OF 03 141951Z
ACTION SS-25

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O 141924Z JUN 78 ZFF 6
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE
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AMEMBASSY BONN IMMEDIATE
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AMEMBASSY PRETORIA IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 03 SECTO 07010

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EXDIS

CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PORG, WQ, SF, PDEV
SUBJ: WESTERN FIVE FOREIGN MINISTERS MEETING ON NAMIBIA,
JUNE 14

SUMMARY: WESTERN FIVE FOREIGN MINISTERS MEETING IN
PARIS JUNE 14 AGREED THAT CONTACT GROUP SHOULD GO TO
LUANDA AS SOON AS POSSIBLE TO MEET WITH NUJOMO AND
SWAPO LEADERSHIP. VISIT SHOULD FOLLOW MESSAGE TO
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PAGE 02 SECTO 07010 01 OF 03 141951Z

NYRERE INFORMING HIM OF FIVE'S WILLINGNESS TO HAVE CG
DISCUSS WITH SWAPO THE TWO POINTS HE HAD SAID WERE
UNRESOLVED. LOCATION OF SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS AND
WALVIS BAY. CONSENSUS WAS THAT EXISTING LANGUAGE ON
STATIONING MUST NOT BE REOPENED BUT THAT CG SHOULD WORK
ON POSSIBILITY THAT SAG MIGHT BE PURSUADED TO CONCEN-
TRATE TROOPS AT ONE RATHER THAN TWO BASES. ON WALVIS BAY

THERE WAS AGREEMENT THAT SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION AFFIRMING IT TO BE AN "INTEGRAL PART OF NAMIBIA" WAS UNACCEPTABLE, BUT NO AGREEMENT ON WHAT TO DO IF THIS LANGUAGE WAS PUT TO A VOTE. THE POSSIBILITY OF ACQUIESCING THROUGH ABSTENTION WAS LEFT OPEN. FONSEC OWEN SUGGESTED THE POSSIBILITY OF HEADING OFF SUCH LANGUAGE THROUGH STIFFENING THE PRESENT DRAFT TO CALL FOR SC DEBATE AFTER SIX MONTHS IN EVENT NO NAMIBIA-SAG AGREEMENT AT WHICH TIME THE SC COULD DECIDE WHETHER FAILURE TO REACH AGREEMENT WAS A "THREAT TO THE PEACE." IT WAS AGREED THAT CONTACT GROUP SHOULD ATTEMPT TO WORK WITH TANZANIAN PERMREP SALIM TO ARRIVE AT ACCEPTABLE LANGUAGE BEFORE MEETING WITH NUJOMO, AS LATTER WAS UNABLE TO CONTRIBUTE TO A USEFUL DISCUSSION ON RESOLUTION OR UN PROCEDURE. BRITISH, SUPPORTED BY CANADIANS, EMPHASIZED URGENCY OF THE SITUATION AND PROPOSED THAT FIVE CONSIDER TAKING MATTER TO THE UNSC QUICKLY, WHETHER OR NOT THE MEETING WITH NUJOMO PRODUCES AGREEMENT. END SUMMARY.

1. WESTERN FIVE FOREIGN MINISTERS IN PARIS TO ATTEND OECD MINISTERIAL MEETING MET AT QUAI D'ORSAY FROM 9-10 AM JUNE 14 TO DISCUSS NEXT STEPS ON NAMIBIA. IN OPENING THE MEETING FRENCH FOREIGN MINISTER DE GUIRINGAUD SAID THAT THERE IS A NEED TO TAKE SOME DECISIONS IN THE WAKE OF THE FRONT LINE MEETING IN LUANDA AND NYRERE'S REPORT
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PAGE 03 SECTO 07010 01 OF 03 141951Z

TO THE FIVE GOVERNMENTS THAT SWAPO IS PREPARED TO TALK FURTHER ON TWO POINTS: A. A WESTERN PRONOUNCEMENT ON THE STATUS OF WALVIS BAY AND B. THE STATIONING OF SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS ONLY IN THE SOUTH OF NAMIBIA. ADDITIONALLY, THE FACT OF THE MEETING WILL BE USEFUL IN TERMS OF SOUTH AFRICAN AND FRONT LINE OPINION BY DEMONSTRATIONS THAT THE FIVE POWERS HAVE NOT ABANDONED THEIR RESPONSIBILITIES AS REGARDS NAMIBIA.

2. BRITISH FONSEC OWEN OPENED WITH FIRST SUBSTANTIVE REMARKS TO THE EFFECT THAT SPEED IS NOW ESSENTIAL. THE ZAMBIANS SAY THEY ARE AFRAID OF A SOUTH AFRICAN RAID INTO THEIR TERRITORY AND THE SOUTH AFRICANS SAY THEY HAVE INFORMATION THAT SWAPO IS PLANNING AN ATTACK. REGARDLESS OF THE TRUTH OF THESE ASSERTIONS, THEY CREATE A CLIMATE OF URGENCY AND IF THERE ARE NEW RAIDS THE WHOLE NAMIBIAN EFFORT TO DATE COULD UNRAVEL RAPIDLY. HE SAID HE THEREFORE FAVORS SENDING THE CONTACT GROUP TO LUANDA RIGHT AWAY, "OVER THE WEEKEND" IF POSSIBLE. SWAPO WILL NEED SOMETHING IN THESE TALKS AND HE WAS INCLINED TO ATTEMPT TO PERSUADE SOUTH AFRICA TO AGREE TO STATIONING THEIR TROOPS AT ONLY ONE PLACE IN THE NORTH OF NAMIBIA RATHER THAN TWO. TO ATTEMPT TO REOPEN

CG PROPOSAL LANGUAGE ON STATIONING WOULD RISK THE WHOLE
NEGOTIATION. OWEN SAID HE BELIEVED THAT

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PAGE 01 SECTO 07010 02 OF 03 141958Z
ACTION SS-25

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S E C R E T SECTION 02 OF 03 SECTO 07010

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DESPITE SWAPO'S PUBLIC INSISTENCE ON THIS POINT THEY
MIGHT SETTLE FOR ONE BASE IN THE NORTH. ON WALVIS BAY,
IT IS IMPORTANT TO LEVEL WITH SOUTH AFRICA AND TELL
THEM JUST WHAT WE TELL SWAPO. IT IS IN ANY CASE
NECESSARY THAT WE MOVE QUICKLY TO TAKE THE MATTER TO
THE UNSC WITHIN TWO WEEKS.

3. THE SECRETARY AGREED ON THE NEED FOR MOVING QUICKLY.
IT IS ALSO DESIRABLE HE SAID, TO HAVE THE CONTACT
GROUP GO TO LUANDA TO MEET WITH SWAPO AS TOO OFTEN THE
INFORMATION WE GET FROM OTHER SOURCES ABOUT THE SWAPO
POSITION TURNS OUT TO BE DIFFERENT FROM THE REAL SWAPO
POSITION. THE SECRETARY ALSO AGREED THAT WE SHOULD
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 SECTO 07010 02 OF 03 141958Z

ATTEMPT TO GET SOUTH AFRICA TO ACCEPT ONLY ONE BASE IN THE NORTH. FONMIN GENSCHER AND EXTERNAL AFFAIRS MINISTER JAMIESON AGREED ON THE NEED FOR RAPID ACTION, JAMIESON TAKING THE POSITION THAT THE TIME HAD COME TO LET SWAPO KNOW THAT WE ARE NOT PREPARED TO REOPEN THE WHOLE NEGOTIATION AND THAT WE ARE READY TO TAKE THE MATTER TO THE SC SHORTLY WHETHER OR NOT THEY ARE IN COMPLETE AGREEMENT WITH THE WESTERN POSITION. GENSCHER SAID THE MINISTERS SHOULD BE PREPARED THEMSELVES TO MEET AGAIN WITH THE PARTIES IF NECESSARY. OWEN SAID THERE IS A TENDENCY TO RESIST TAKING THINGS TO THE UNSC UNTIL ALL THE LOOSE ENDS ARE TIED UP. THERE ARE SOME CASES, THIS BEING ONE, WHERE SOME RISK SHOULD BE TAKEN AND WE SHOULD BE PREPARED TO MOVE THE MATTER TO THE SC. IF IT SEEMS THE VOTES ARE NOT THERE, WE CAN BACK OFF AT THE LAST MOMENT. THE IMPORTANT THING, SAID OWEN, IS TO GET SWAPO TO THE UNSC DEBATE.

4. THERE FOLLOWED DISCUSSION OF WHETHER THE CONTACT GROUP WOULD BE ABLE TO MEET WITH NUJOMO AND THE SWAPO LEADERSHIP IF IT WENT TO LUANDA RIGHT AWAY. AMB MCHENRY INFORMED THE GROUP OF A CONVERSATION ON THE PLANE TO PARIS THIS MORNING WITH NUMOMO'S SECRETARY: THERE IS NO PROBLEM IN MEETING WITH NUJOMO. THE PROBLEM IS IN KNOWING AHEAD OF TIME WHETHER SWAPO ONLY WANTS TO TALK ABOUT THE TWO POINTS MENTIONED BY NYRERE OR WHETHER THEY ARE GOING TO RAISE FOUR ISSUES AS SOME PRESS REPORTS INDICATE MIGHT BE THE CASE. THERE WAS GENERAL AGREEMENT THAT THE FIVE GOVERNMENTS WOULD INSTRUCT THEIR AMBASSADORS IN DAR ES SALAAM TO INFORM NYRERE THAT THE CONTACT GROUP IS PREPARED TO GO TO LUANDA SHORTLY TO MEET WITH NUJOMO AND THE SWAPO LEADERSHIP TO DISCUSS CLARIFICATIONS ON THE TWO POINTS

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PAGE 03 SECTO 07010 02 OF 03 141958Z

WHICH NYRERE HAD INFORMED US WERE THE REMAINING POINTS OF CONTENTION. THERE WAS ALSO GENERAL AGREEMENT THAT ON THE QUESTION OF THE STATIONING OF SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS, THE CG WOULD ATTEMPT TO PERSUADE SWAPO TO ACCEPT A CONCENTRATION OF FORCES AT ONE BASE IN THE NORTH. A DECISION ON WHETHER THE CG SHOULD MOVE ON TO SOUTH AFRICA AFTER LUANDA WOULD BE LEFT TO THE CG TO DECIDE AFTER ITS CONSULTATIONS IN LUANDA, THERE BEING GENERAL AGREEMENT WITH MCHENRY'S POINT THAT THE SAG WOULD RESPOND FAVORABLY TO A VISIT IF IT APPEARED FOR

THE PURPOSE OF NAILING DOWN ONLY TWO ISSUES BUT WOULD
REACT NEGATIVELY IF IT APPEARED THAT OTHER MATTERS
MIGHT COME UP WITHOUT ANY CLEAR END IN SIGHT.

5. THE DISCUSSION THEN TURNED TO WHAT COULD BE SAID
ABOUT WALVIS BAY. DE GUIRINGAUD SAID FRANCE COULD NOT
ACCEPT LANGUAGE GOING BEYOND THE PRESENT DRAFT
OPERATIVE PARAGRAPH (2) TO THE EFFECT THAT THE SC
WOULD RECOMMEND NEGOTIATIONS LEADING TO THE INCORPORA-
TION OF WALVIS BAY IN AN INDEPENDENT NAMIBIA. ALL
AGREED THAT SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION STATING THAT
WALVIS BAY IS A PART OF NAMIBIA COULD NOT BE ACCEPTED.
TO DO SO WOULD SET A PRECEDENT POSSIBLY AFFECTING
INTERESTS OF THE FIVE ELSEWHERE. WHILE THERE WAS
GENERAL AGREEMENT ABOUT THE UNACCEPTABILITY OF SUCH
LANGUAGE, NO DISCUSSION OR CONSENSUS EMERGED ABOUT WHAT
THE FIVE WOULD DO IN THE EVENT SUCH LANGUAGE WAS ADOPTED.
THE SECRETARY SUGGESTED THAT THE FIVE MIGHT ABSTAIN
AND MAKE STATEMENTS OF THEIR POSITION. OWEN SAID THAT
HE WOULD NOT RULE OUT A BRITISH ABSENTION BUT HE THOUGHT
IT WOULD BE DANGEROUS TO ACQUIESCE IN SUCH LANGUAGE--
WHICH WOULD BE THE EFFECT OF FIVE ABSTENTIONS LETTING
THE RESOLUTION PASS.

6. OWEN, SUPPORTED BY JAMIESON, SUGGESTED THAT A WAY
OUT MIGHT BE FOUND BY STRENGTHENING THE LANGUAGE OF THE
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 04 SECTO 07010 02 OF 03 141958Z

RESOLUTION TO SAY THAT THE SECURITY COUNCIL WOULD
CONSIDER THE MATTER AGAIN IN SIX MONTHS. IT MIGHT BE

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PAGE 01 SECTO 07010 03 OF 03 141959Z
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S E C R E T SECTION 03 OF 03 SECTO 07010

EXDIS

DESIRABLE IN THIS REGARD TO INCLUDE LANGUAGE REFERRING TO CHAPTER SEVEN ACTION, I.E. THE COUNCIL WOULD CONSIDER AFTER SIX MONTHS WHETHER THE FAILURE TO REACH AGREEMENT CONSTITUTED A THREAT TO THE PEACE. OWEN SUGGESTED THAT AS A PRACTICAL MATTER WE WOULD BE FACED WITH A CHAPTER VII SITUATION IF NEGOTIATIONS FAIL. IT WAS AGREED THE CONTACT GROUP SHOULD EXPLORE THE SC RESOLUTION LANGUAGE IN DETAIL WITH TANZANIAN PERMREP SALIM, WHO HAS A GOOD FEEL FOR SUCH THINGS, WITH THE AIM OF COMING UP WITH REALISTIC LANGUAGE. THERE WAS SIMILAR AGREEMENT THAT IT OWULD BE USELESS TO DISCUSS THE LANGUAGE OF A SC RESOLUTION WITH NUJOMO -- WHO HAS NO FEEL FOR SUCH THINGS -- UNTIL

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SECRET

PAGE 02 SECTO 07010 03 OF 03 141959Z

AFTER LANGUAGE HAD BEEN AGREED UPON.

7. THE MEETING ENDED WITH INCONCLUSIVE DISCUSSION ON WHETHER THE FIVE SHOULD BE PREPARED TO GO TO THE UNSC EVEN IF THE TALKS WITH SWAPO IN LUANDA DO NOT RESULT IN AGREEMENT. OWEN AND JAMIESON WERE FIRMLY OF THE VIEW THAT THE TIME HAS COME TO GO TO THE UN AS THE FRONTLINE STATES MUST BE FORCED TO TAKE A POSITION ON THE WESTERN PROPOSAL. THEY MAINTAINED THERE IS NO FURTHER ADVANTAGE IN LETTING MATTERS DRAG OUT AND DETERIORATE. OWEN NOTED IN THIS CONNECTION THE NEED TO "CONCENTRATE THE MINDS OF THE AFRICANS" BY "A BIT OF BRINKMANSHIP." AMB MCHENRY COMMENTED THERE ARE ESSENTIALLY TWO WAYS TO GO TO THE UNSC ON THIS QUESTION. ONE IS WHEN THE VOTES ARE LINED UP. THE OTHER IS WHEN WE HAVE SEEN THAT THE FRONTLINE STATES HAVE BECOME FED UP WITH SWAPO, AT WHICH TIME WE CAN FORCE THEM TO

A DECISION.

8. IT WAS AGREED THAT CONTACT GROUP SHOULD MEET TO
DRAFT MESSAGE TO DAR ES SALAAM CONCERNING ARRANGEMENTS
FOR LUANDA MEETING.

9. FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF BRIEF COMMUNIQUE ISSUED AFTER
MEETING. (INFORMAL TRANSLATION FROM FRENCH.) THE
FOREIGN MINISTERS OF THE FRG, CANADA, THE U.S., THE
U.K. AND FRANCE MET JUNE 14 TO EXAMINE -- IN THE LIGHT
OF RECENT DEVELOPMENTS -- THE MEANS OF ASSURING NAMIBIAS
ACCESSION TO INDEPENDENCE BY PEACEFUL MEANS.
THE FIVE MINSTERS TOOK INTO ACCOUNT THE RESULTS OF THE
CONFERENCE WHICH WAS HELD IN LUANDA WITH SWAPO, THE
CHIEFS OF STATE OF ANGOLA, TANZANIA AND ZAMBIA AS WELL
AS REPRESENTATIVES OF BOTSWANA AND MOZAMBIQUE. THEY
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PAGE 03 SECTO 07010 03 OF 03 141959Z

DECIDED TO PURSUE THE EFFORTS WHICH THEY HAD UNDER-
TAKEN TO LEAD THE INTERESTED PARTIES TO CONCLUDE, IN
CONFORMITY IWTH THE PROPOSALS SUBMITTED TO THE
SECURITY COUNCIL, AN AGREEMENT ACCEPTABLE TO THE
INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY.
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